

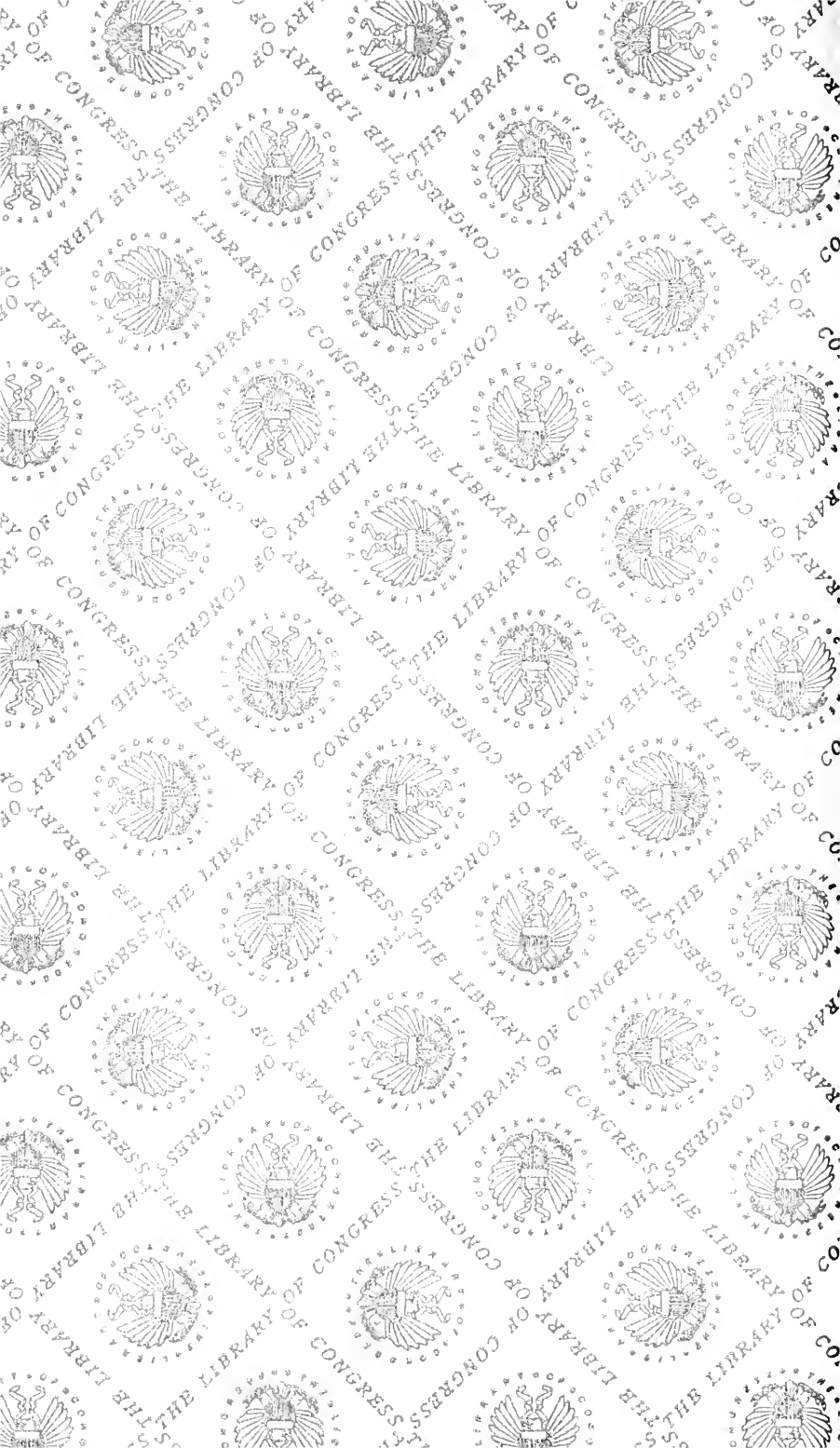
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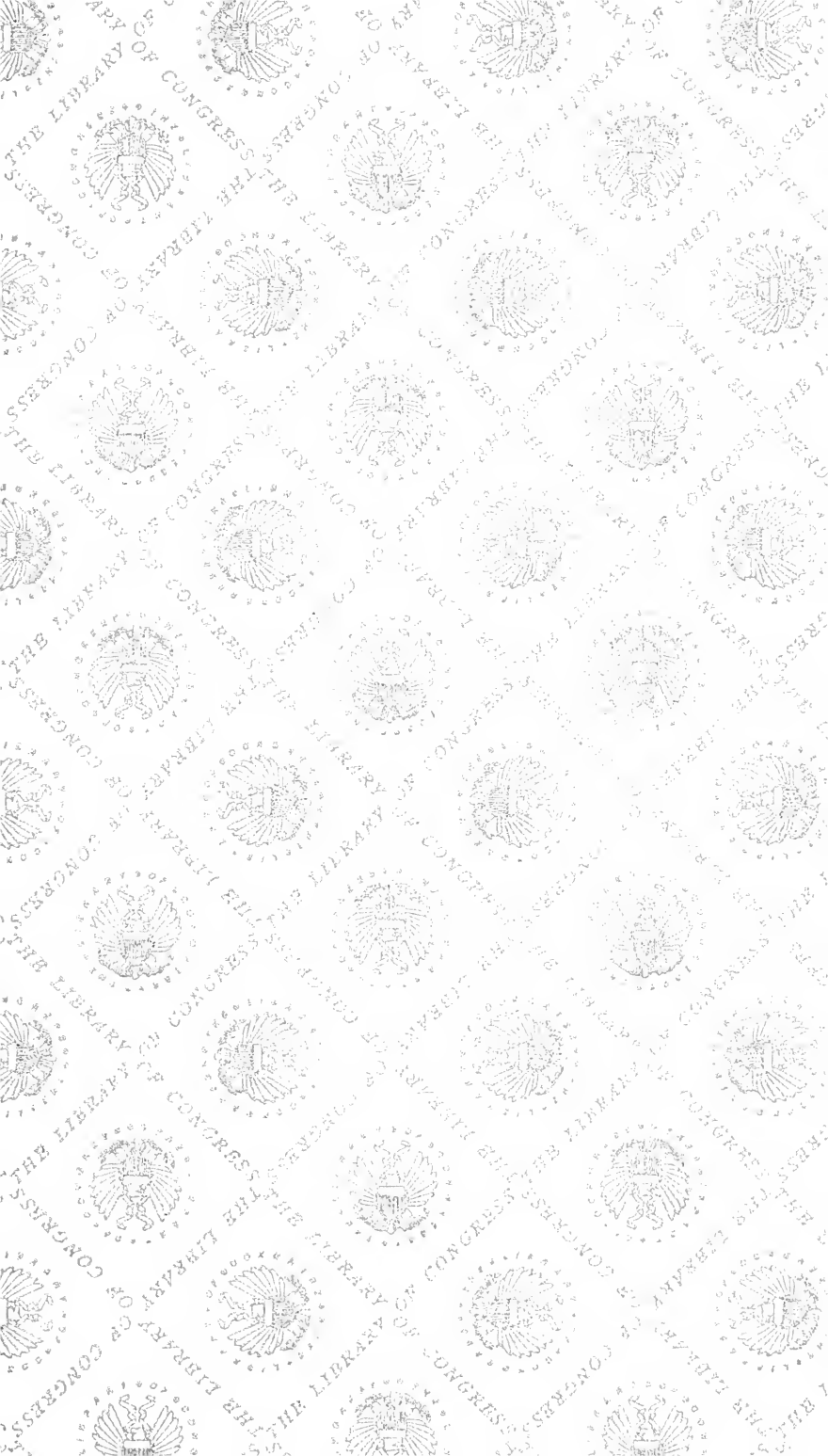
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*I am the first day of Dec. Hayes
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THE
HISTORY OF SLAVERY,
AND MEANS
OF ELEVATING THE AFRICAN RACE.

A DISCOURSE
DELIVERED BEFORE THE
VERMONT COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AT
MONTPELIER, Oct. 15, 1840.

BY J. K. CONVERSE,
Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Burlington, Vt.

27

BURLINGTON:
CHAUNCEY GOODRICH.
1840.

Extract from the minutes of the Annual meeting of the Vermont Colonization Society, held in the Brick Church in Montpelier, Oct. 15, 1840.

"VOTED, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. J. K. CONVERSE, for the very interesting discourse delivered by him this evening;—and that a copy of the same be requested for publication."

DISCOURSE.

THE Bible has predicted it, and it is the expectation of all christians that ‘the knowledge of God shall ere long cover this earth as the waters cover the sea.’ The Bible has predicted it, and it is also the expectation of all christians, that a day is coming in the progress of this world’s history, when all the nations and individuals of our race shall feel the power and rejoice in the blessings of the gospel of Christ;—when the ignorance and fears and cruelties of idolatry shall be emptied out of the hearts of men, and the knowledge and hopes and charities of the gospel shall come in and take their place,—when all war and oppression and slavery shall be abolished, and Africa shall remember and turn unto the Lord, ‘and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him.’ Ps. xxii, 27.

When we fix our thoughts on this mighty change and contemplate it as a great fact infallibly to be realized, we are irresistibly led to ask, How is this change to be effected? By what power? Through what means? Where is the power that is to ‘break every yoke,’ set free every slave, disenthral every mind and fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord? Where is the power that is to demolish every pagan temple, grind to dust every idol, abolish all corruptions and take down the great fabric of human society and build it up anew on the principles of holiness?—It is evident that to produce these desirable changes will require the prolonged exertion of some mighty power; where shall we find an agency adequate to such effects?

In answer to these inquiries, I remark, that in strict language there is but one kind of power in the universe, and that is the power of *mind*. We are accustomed however to speak of different kinds of power according to the form in which it is exerted, or according to the agent by whom it is

exerted. Thus we talk of intellectual power, of moral power and of natural power, or force.

In the resources and deductions of philosophy, (whether true or false) there is power of a certain kind, which has awakened into violent temporary action, millions of minds ; which has in former ages kindled the most bitter strifes and involved whole nations in blood.

In the lightnings and thunders of heaven there is power of another kind. The infant thunderbolt now sleeping in yonder cloud, needs but the application of a spark to enable it to rend and shake the solid earth.

In the combined movements of armies and disciplined legions, there is another kind of power still.

But, My Friends, we cannot rely upon any, nor upon all of these kinds of power to work out the changes which we long to see, and which we have assembled to promote this evening. For emancipating the enslaved,—for raising them to the condition of intelligent and happy freemen,—for destroying the traffic in human flesh and filling the continent of Africa with holy light, we must depend upon the power of truth and love—**THE POWER OF SANCTIFIED MIND ACTING UNDER THE GUIDANCE AND BLESSING OF GOD.** The work of reforming the world must not be committed to passion. I have deeply felt that the whole subject of emancipation and colonization has, of late, been discussed with too little regard to the revealed purposes of God. There has been too much of passion and policy, and human feeling and reliance upon temporary expedients. All schemes however well intended, if pursued regardless of the purposes and blessing of heaven, will prove abortive and mischievous. It is our truest wisdom to inquire and ascertain the designs of God and then fall in with these designs ; so only will the work of our hands be established upon us.

I have made these preliminary remarks to show that in laboring for the improvement of the colored race and for the christianization of Africa, we are aiming at no uncertainties. We are laboring for things which shall be. Since the word of God assures us that these ends shall be gained, let it be our object to night, to ascertain from his word and providence, by what means he intends to accomplish these ends, that we may fall in with his designs and so be co-workers with him. and therefore be successful.

The scripture selected to guide us in these inquiries, is recorded in *EZEK. XXIX. 9th, 15th*, in connexion with *Ps. LXVIII. 31.*

And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord.—It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations, for I will diminish them that they shall no more rule over the nations.

Princes shall come out of Egypt. Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.

Feeling at liberty to pursue a range somewhat wider than is usual for the desk, I have proposed to myself two inquiries. First, What have been the dealings of God towards the African race in time past? Secondly. What are his revealed purposes respecting this race in time to come.

Attention to our first inquiry brings to light the singular fact, that *that* nation which first of all introduced and practised the system of enslaving men, has been made to suffer most deeply and painfully the evils of slavery.

Our text, you perceive contains two predictions concerning Egypt. One of them has been literally fulfilled; the other is yet to be accomplished. Other predictions which I shall have occasion to quote, speak of Egypt. But let it be remembered that the writers of the Old Testament, designate by the term Egypt, a country vastly more extensive than that which in modern geography bears that name. As Egypt was the most powerful of the kingdoms of Africa for many ages;—as it was on the threshold of the only entrance to that continent known to the ancients, as its boundaries were changed under different dynasties and always vast and almost unknown, and as the surrounding countries on that continent were often tributary to it, we may understand the prophets when they speak of Egypt, as meaning the whole of Africa then known to the world. We must so understand Ezekiel in the first prediction in our text.*

At the time this prophecy was uttered (600 years before Christ) Egypt or Africa was literally ruling among the nations, and was exalted above them all. She was enjoying her brightest day of glory and power. But she was destined to a speedy overthrow as a punishment for her sins of oppression. Rightly to understand the subject we must go

* Calmet, and Edinburgh Encyc. Art. Egypt.

back and contemplate the dealings of God with this portion of our race in the light of several striking prophecies of the Old Testament. In GEN. ix. 24, we read that *when Noah knew what his younger son had done unto him, He said, cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.* See now how these predictions have been fulfilled.

We learn from the tenth chapter of Gen. (verses 6—20,) that Africa was peopled by Ham and his four sons. Mizraim peopled lower Egypt and the Delta of the Nile, and hence the Hebrew name for Egypt is Mizraim. Cush settled in upper Egypt and from him were descended the Ethiopians, known in ancient history as the Nubians and Abyssinians &c. Phut, the third son of Ham, peopled Lybia and Mauritania, embracing the country of Algiers and other western regions. From Canaan were descended several powerful and warlike tribes, among whom were the Amalekites and Canaanites. Thus far the Bible sheds its holy light upon the origin and character of the first inhabitants of Africa after the flood. These several nations from the sons of Ham soon became powerful in numbers, arms and arts, and though under the curse of their progenitor, they had for a long period dominion over the nations. We have all read in our school boy days that Agenor, an Egyptian founded the Phœneecian commonwealth and the republic of Tyre; and that Cadmus, the son of Agenor founded the republic of Thebes and first introduced the use of letters and the art of writing into Greece; and that Cecrops emigrating with an Egyptian colony, established the Athenian state, civilized its barbarous hordes and planted among them the germs of all that subsequently became great and valuable in Grecian history.

Thus the descendants of Ham, at an early period came to occupy the front rank in the march of civilization and intellectual improvement. They were the Teachers of mankind. If we look for the origin of our own knowledge of arts and letters, we received it ultimately from them. More immediately, we received it from our European ancestors;—They got it from the Romans, Greeks and Jews, and they in turn derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt, i. e. from Africa. We

read that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was mighty in words. Acts, vii. 22. Africa was, in short, the great emporium of learning. It was to Africa that Plato, Homer, Pythagoras and Herodotus made their voyages of discovery, as our literary men now make theirs to Germany and other European countries. But who were these teachers of the human race? Herodotus, who travelled among them and who knew their appearance as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada, says that they were black, having curled hair, &c. But while these early nations from Ham gave such ample evidence of intellectual dignity, they furnish equal evidence of moral degradation. Their progress in crime was commensurate with their progress in arts and letters, thus furnishing the proof that mere learning is no effectual restraint upon depravity. The curse of heaven whose execution had been so long suspended, they now began to feel. One part of this curse consisted in permitting these various nations to make war and prey upon each other. The first slave-holders and taskmasters that ever existed upon our earth, were these nations descended from Ham, Africans—the progenitors of those very slaves now in bondage on our soil. This is a notable, unquestionable fact. We read of these African nations buying and selling human beings as property as early as the fifth century after the flood. Joseph was bought of his brethren, carried into Africa and sold as a slave. The slave trade was then and there in existence. The Ishmaelites were the slave drivers, or the carriers in this trade. The whole tenor of the inspired history furnishes strong ground for supposing that they made the slave trade a regular business, and that Egypt was known to the world as a regular slave-market. The whole story of Joseph supposes this, for how else would his brethren have thought of selling him to the Ishmaelites, or they of buying him? Examine for your further satisfaction on this point the thirty seventh chapter of Genesis.

Thus the nations of Africa, at this early period, were in the habit, not only of reducing each other to slavery by conquest, but also, of buying as slaves the descendants of Shem and Japheth. It was under these nations that the chosen people of God groaned beneath a despotism so bitter in its progress and so awful in its overthrow.

But at length a day of retribution came, and the oppressor

became in turn the oppressed. At a period when Africa stood forth famous in arts and arms, when the Prince who filled the throne boasted, as we are told by Herodotus, that no god could deprive him of his kingdom,—just then when it seemed that the mercies of God were poured out upon her most profusely ; provoked by the oppression of his own people, and by the cries and groans of her millions of slaves, God sent forth his decree against her in the language of our text. *The land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more, for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule among the nations. And the sword shall come upon Egypt and great pain shall be in Ethiopia,—when they shall take away her multitude and her foundations shall be broken down. In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Ethiopians afraid and great pain shall come upon them.—And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries and they shall know that I am the Lord.* EZEK. xxx. 4, 9, 26.

How fearfully was the curse pronounced on Ham executed in the fulfilment of these predictions upon the nations descended from his loins ! Here we see the hand of God red with retributive justice. They who were the first claimants of property in human flesh, have been made, through their posterity, to drink the longest and deepest from the bitter cup which their hands introduced ! Truly has it been said that for more than two thousand years the annals of every people attest the fulfilment of these predictions respecting Africa. Conquered by the Persians, within fifty years after these predictions ;—conquered again by the Macedonians ; subjugated and pillaged by the Romans and made the theatre of many of their bloodiest wars ;—overwhelmed by the Saracens ; scourged and desolated by the Mamelukes ;—devastated by the Turks ; and again overrun by the French : For a hundred generations, Africa has been made the battle field of nations and the constant victim of them all ; and worse than all, her children for centuries have been swept into distant and hopeless bondage and sifted throughout the universe as it is this day. They have been scattered among the nations and have been made the servants of

Shem and Japheth. How unsearchable are the ways of God? How fearfully has he here fulfilled the threatening of visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children.

But, my hearers, though prophecy is thus fulfilled, that lessens not in the least degree the guilt of those who have been the voluntary agents in perpetuating this system of human oppression.

History attests that from the earliest times, the nations of Africa were accustomed to reduce to slavery the prisoners taken from each other in war. At what period the colored race began to be enslaved in foreign countries, is not quite certain. The Portuguese began a regular trade in negro slaves as early as 1481; eleven years before the discovery of this continent.* They established their first fort on the African coast at D'Elmina. The other European nations, observing this traffic to be a source of wealth and luxury, soon followed the example of the Portuguese. Attracted by the luxuries of European commerce, the African chiefs soon came to make war their regular profession, for the sake of obtaining prisoners for the European traders.

But the discovery of this new world was an evil day to the ill fated descendants of Ham. The first adventurers to this continent and to the islands along the Atlantic coast were Spaniards. They found the Indian race existing here, and in their grasping covetousness, without the least remorse, they reduced them to a bondage so monstrous, that in the island of Hispaniola alone, from the year 1508 to 1517, the Indians were reduced by the brutal oppression under which they groaned, from 60,000 to 14,000 souls.† Some remonstrances were raised at home against this horrid oppression. But the plea of necessity was raised. It was urged that European constitutions could not stand the climate of the new world under severe labor;—that the Indians were accustomed to it; that the treasures of gold and silver must be had, &c. Thus, then as now, this miserable pretence of necessity was urged and this justified the deed. Accordingly it was sanctioned by a formal decree of the King of Spain in these words, “That the servitude of the Indians was warranted by the laws both of God and man.”

* Edinburgh Encyc. Art. Slave trade.

† African Rep. Aug. 1831, address of R. J. Breckenridge.

While the aborigines were thus fading away under the oppression of Spanish task-masters, a new plan was formed benevolently designed to relieve them. "This project was originated by one Bartholomide Las Casas, a priest of Chiapa. He, in connexion with a little band of ecclesiastics, who still recognized the obligations of justice and humanity toward the Indians, proposed to the Spanish Court that they should liberate the Indians and introduce from Africa, negroes, who, he said, could be obtained for a small sum and were better fitted for endurance under hard labor. Las Casas and his associates persevered in this, until Africans were introduced: but, alas! the Indians were not set free. He had the misfortune to see the chains of bondage rivetted on both these races of men." In the year 1511, Ferdinand permitted the importation of negroes in large numbers and in subsequent reigns this inhuman traffic was carried on to a still more fearful extent. Such was the beginning of negro slavery in this western hemisphere.

On the settlement of the North American Colonies, slaves were introduced into the territory of the United States. In the year 1620, a Dutch vessel from the coast of Guinea brought into James River and to the colony at Jamestown, twenty Africans, which were immediately purchased as slaves; and that the whole business might be transacted in the sacred name of religion, an ordinance was passed, "that all heathen persons might be lawfully held as slaves, and that their descendants although christians, might be continued in slavery." Such was the beginning of slavery in the United States;—Such, the first settlement among us of an oppressed and suffering race, which by its natural increase and by continual importation has augmented, in two hundred and twenty years, to more than three millions of souls.*

Many millions more are in bondage among other nations. It is estimated that fifteen millions have been torn from their country since this inhuman traffic first began under the darkness of romanism and the sanction of the pope. More than three hundred years the traffic has been continued by nominally christian governments both Protestant and Catholic.

* African Repository Aug. 1831, p. 166.

'Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic waves,
 'For guilty ages rolled the tide of slaves,
 'A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest,
 'Constant as day and night, from east to west.
 'Still widening, deepening, swelling in its course,
 'With boundless ruin and a deathless force.'

But thanks be to God, that Humanity may turn to the future and relieve her tearful eye and aching heart, by contemplating the vision opened to us in the other portion of our text. *Princes shall come out of Egypt: Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.* Whether the inspired author of this passage had any distinct reference to the enslavement and subsequent restoration of the African race, may well be questioned. But one thing is plain: The christianization of this race, is made in the scriptures, a distinct subject of prophecy. This is specifically taught in many places. The removal of all associated evils is implied.

Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God, i. e. shall become a religious people. *The kings of She'a and Seba shall offer gifts. From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring my offering. Oppressors shall be removed out of the earth. God will bring out those that are bound with chains. Every yoke shall be broken and the oppressed shall go free. For the oppression of the poor:—for the sighs of the needy, will I arise saith the Lord.*

We are clearly taught in these and similar passages,

1. That the enslaved shall be set free.
2. That the traffic in human beings shall be abolished, and
3. That Africa shall be brought home to God.

These are already facts in the purposes of heaven: soon they shall be facts in the history of the earth. God reigns. Hath he spoken and shall he not do it?

Now, every thing appears dark. When we look at torn, afflicted and bleeding Africa, and then upon her children, remorselessly scattered to the four winds of heaven, there lies before us a sea of gloom. But beyond this gloom, there is an ocean of light: and He, who opened a passage through the Sea of old to set his people free, can roll back this sea of darkness, and lead forth the oppressed and ignorant to the light and liberty of his children,—and he will do it. The predicted and certain reign of christianity over Ethiopia, in-

volves the destruction of slavery and the slave trade. Here are three great facts infallibly to be realised. The enslaved shall be liberated. The traffic in human flesh shall cease and Africa shall be disenthralled, redeemed and brought home to God.

WHEN these ends will be gained I cannot tell. The indications of providence show that they are near. The entire christian world has awaked to the sufferings and claims of the colored race. The progress of truth and humanity in their behalf, has been rapid during the last thirty years; and every year; nay, every month is giving a new impulse to this humanity and truth. The cry for justice to be rendered to this injured race is going forth from a thousand presses, from ten thousand pulpits and from ten thousand times ten thousand voices. Never, perhaps, since the earth began to roll, were the feelings of the civilized world so united and directed towards the removal of any one evil. Much has been already gained, as we see by a backward glance. It is but half a century since it was gravely debated in the British Parliament whether the negroes had souls;—since christian governments argued from the Bible, especially from *LEV. xxv. 44, 47*, that it was *right* to enslave all heathens, and since christian men were personally engaged in the slave trade.

How these ends will be gained is a question of easier solution. Undoubtedly they will be gained by the power of the gospel and gospel means, under the superintending providence of God. We firmly believe that these three ends will be accomplished together;—That whatever opens the heart of the intelligent christian to feel for the slave, will make him feel also for the slave's country and for his kindred;—that whatever measures have a right bearing upon one of these objects, will bear benignly upon the other two. Hence I believe that action of the *right kind* is needed in both the directions intended by the two great national societies. Therefore 'Judah should not vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim Judah.

Regarding these ends as infallibly to be attained, under the providence of God, it becomes an important question, By what means will God bring about the overthrow of slavery, the destruction of the slave-trade and the christianization of Africa? If we can judge or know by what means God will act, we shall know our duty, and be prepared to act in

accordance with his will, and therefore successfully. We should be as anxious to use the *right means* as to gain the desired *ends*. Mere passion will not reform the world ;—nor will the spirit of denunciation ; nor that temper which sees an enemy in every spirit differing from itself, or which resolves that every thing unlike itself is useless and wicked ; nor will political power or commercial enterprise remove the evils in question, though these last appliances will, doubtless, be used as auxiliaries. How then, is it likely, that the ends before us will be gained ?

1. *How can slavery be abolished from this country ?* In answering this question we must take things just as they are. We have on our soil 2,500,000 slaves. They are claimed and held as property by men born and reared among slaves, who have never known any other state of society,—by men who have been taught from childhood the necessity and propriety of this relation, and who have associated it with all whom they revere. Such men cannot look upon slavery with the same eye and conscience as ourselves. And besides, the constitution secures to them the right of property in their slaves ; and what is *constitutional*, they have almost persuaded themselves is *right*. Now the question is, how shall men in this state of mind and conscience be brought to abolish slavery ?

There are but three ways possible in which slavery can ever be abolished from this land. First. It must be the work of the slaves themselves by insurrection and massacre ; or secondly, It must be done by the involuntary act of the master, he being compelled to it by foreign force or the power of law ; or thirdly, It must be the voluntary act of the master. In the first case emancipation results from conspiracy and blood shed. In the second, from the power of law or foreign force. In the third, from a sense of duty, or the conviction of expediency. No other plan can be devised that will not resolve itself into one of these.

Do any desire to see slavery abolished by the first method, i. e. by conspiracy and murder ? Before answering this question, go back to the scenes of St. Domingo, or to those of Southampton Va. in 1831. Imagine a beautiful tract of country, as large as your own township, made desolate and stained with the blood of its inhabitants in a single hour. Bring the case home to your own heart and fireside. Ima-

gine a gang of 300 slaves,—armed with muskets, scythes and clubs, led on by a crisp-haired, fanatical prophet, and infuriated by ardent spirits, rushing into your dwelling at dead of night, murdering yourself,—your wife, children and helpless babes, and piling their mangled bodies in heaps upon the bloody floor ; then rushing with the fury of fiends to the next dwelling to repeat the scene, and so on, till hundreds and thousands are thus murdered. *Monsters* may be found, but not *men*, willing to see slavery abolished in this way.

Knowing as I do, the state of things at the south I have every reason to believe and fear that these scenes of horror will be repeated, if slave-holders and legislators do not move upon the subject, but I pray God to avert them.—That the slaves of the south or of any one state will ever succeed in gaining their freedom in this way, is beyond all probability. It is scarcely possible for a general conspiracy throughout a single state to be formed and brought to maturity without detection. If it were, it is hardly possible that the slaves could provide themselves with arms, or assemble in sufficient numbers to cope with their masters and with their attached servants who would always side with their masters. They might, as at Southampton, consume, throughout a county, the dwellings, lay waste the fields and sacrifice by midnight assassination, hundreds of women and children : Further than this they could not go. Their progress would be stayed. Instead of regaining liberty, they would become the subjects of the most terrible retribution and perhaps in the heat of revengeful passion, be exterminated. We see then that the first of our three methods of emancipation is out of the question. It is exceedingly undesirable. It is improbable. It is morally impossible.

2. A second method of emancipation is by the involuntary act of the slave-holders, they being compelled to it, by law or by some external force.

It was by this method exactly that slavery was recently abolished in the British West Indies, i. e. setting the slaves free, was the involuntary act of the owners, they being compelled to it by a power above and beyond themselves, by Parliament. But we (in the United States) can never abolish slavery, *directly* in this way. The two cases are entirely different. The West Indies are a British Province. The Crown and Parliament have absolute control over this Prov-

ince. Their will is law and was always acknowledged to be law. But the case is not so with us ; our Congress has no such control over any of our slave states. As to slavery and other internal matters, those states claim to be, and are acknowledged even by us, to be as sovereign and independent of congress as Cuba or Texas. They are so in fact. How then can slavery ever be abolished here as it was in the West Indies, by the involuntary act of slave-holders, they being compelled to it by a force out of themselves? Who can compel them? Congress cannot. Anti-slavery societies cannot. Agitation, threats and denunciation cannot. No human power can compel them, short of an army planting itself upon their soil and demanding liberty for the captive at the point of the bayonet. This, our second method of emancipation is, then, out of the question. Congress, we believe, can, and ought to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the domestic slave-trade. We ought to petition them to do it, and pray God to incline them to do it—and send men there by our votes who will help them to do it, at once, and leave the issue with God.

3. We come now to our third and only remaining method of abolishing slavery, i. e. by the voluntary act of the slave-holders themselves; this act resulting from the convictions of duty or expediency. This I have no doubt is the way of God ;—the most desirable way ; the way that is the most full of promise to the slave, to the country and to Africa ; and in present circumstances, the only way.

Slavery must be abolished by the voluntary act of slave-holders. They must be made willing to let the oppressed go free. They are not now willing,—not as willing as they were ten years ago. Generally, their wills have been aroused and set like adamant, with the intent of resisting foreign interference. The mild tones in which their consciences then began to remonstrate, have been hushed and overwhelmed in a storm of passion. Yet God can, and, I believe, will overrule all that has been done with good motive, for awakening the public ear at the south to hear, and the public mind to reflect, and the public conscience to feel and act through a more humane legislation. Threats, denunciation and hard names will not make slave-holders willing to emancipate. They must be moved by christian truth and love, and persuasive argument. I have confidence in the power of truth,

wielded by sanctified mind, to reform abuses, and in the promises of God, that he will attend it by his Spirit. Some of us, at the north, *began wrong*. Such must retrace their steps and become possessed of another spirit. We must regard the gospel as capable of producing the results, for which it was given, and use it accordingly with faith and patience.

Let us suppose a community, on one of our beautiful Islands in Lake Champlain, to have been so insulated as not to know any thing of the temperance movement of the last twelve years. That community are still involved in all the evils and excesses of intemperance. Their minister, we will suppose, owns a distillery, and his deacon (a second deacon Giles) 'works it.' How shall *we* bring that church and community to right views and to right practice? Shall we begin with calling them drunkards, and then pass resolutions that their minister shall not preach in our pulpits, nor their christians come to our communion tables? No, my friends. We should do no such thing. We would go and convince them of the truth: or, we would write them a kind letter, which, if possible, should breathe the very spirit of the Saviour. We would acknowledge our own former sins in the matter of intemperance and assure them how much we have been benefitted by the change. We would present in a courteous and christian manner, truths, facts and principles which would commend themselves to their consciences. If the members of that church are christians, we should do them good and through them act on the whole Island.

So we ought to commence with southern christians. So we may now commence. Let individuals, or if they please, let our Ecclesiastical Bodies of every name engage in a kind and fraternal correspondence with their corresponding bodies at the south. Let it be a correspondence, not of dictation and reproof, but of inquiry, of affectionate entreaty and earnest persuasion only—and from my own knowledge of southern christians, I feel assured that they would hear us even now.

When the churches have been leavened, the rest of the southern community will through them feel the power of their sentiments. These great moral truths belonging to this subject will spread, will pervade the country; and, spoken in love, 'they will accomplish that whereunto they are sent.'

Our next and only remaining inquiries are, How shall the slave-trade be suppressed and the hundred millions of Africa be christianized and led to the habits of civilized life?

I shall consider these two objects in connexion. They obviously will be accomplished together, and by human instrumentality.

Princes will not come out of Egypt, to bring their offerings unto Christ: nor will the children of Ethiopia *stretch out their hands unto God*, till they have ceased to stretch them out against each other in acts of murder and oppression. Heathenism and the slave trade in Africa must pass away together,—and be removed by the same power of truth proclaimed both by the living missionary, and by the presence and rousing influence of christian colonies. Every enlarged and philanthropic mind will encircle both these objects in its benevolent embrace, and be willing to act through the channels God has opened, for the elevation of the whole colored race.

Suppose we were to confine all our attention to the abolition of slavery in this land, and should perfectly succeed, we should scarcely diminish the amount of suffering and of oppression, while Africa itself is neglected;—for the murderous warfare and the accursed traffic would go on, and avarice and inhumanity would find a market for all their victims elsewhere, among pagans, Mahometans and the nations blinded and perverted by a spurious christianity. He who doubts this must be ignorant of human depravity, and blind to the unchanging course of human affairs. Abolishing slavery in protestant countries will not stop the slave trade. For this opinion I give you the authority of one whose judgment ought to have weight in a certain quarter, where colonization of late, has found but little favor. I refer to Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton,—the leading abolitionist of England, both in and out of Parliament.* Emancipation has been going on

* NOTE. Great pains have been taken by leading abolitionists in this country, to make the impression that Mr. Buxton is an uncompromising opponent to the colonization scheme. Such impressions are contrary to fact, and are unjust to Mr. Buxton.

It is true that a few years ago Mr. B. was *induced* to sign a protest, designed to oppose the Am. Col. Society. But Mr. B. has recently written a book on the slave trade, which, virtually sanctions all the leading principles and plans of the Am. Col. Society. He aims to convince the world that the slave trade can never be abolished by the expedients hitherto adopted,—that it must be done by planting christian colonies and establishing com-

in the West Indies, and in the United States, and in other quarters—for the last thirty years;—and public sentiment has been as constantly maturing and gathering strength against slavery and the whole system of iniquity. But has the slave trade declined? Let Mr. Buxton answer.

“It has been proved by documents which cannot be controverted, that for every cargo of slaves shipped towards the end of the last century, two cargoes, or twice the numbers in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the waves of the Atlantic; and that the cruelties and horrors of the traffic have been increased and aggravated *by the very efforts we have made for its abolition*. Each individual has more to endure; aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers. At the time I am writing, there are at least *twenty thousand human beings* on the Atlantic, exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage . . . I am driven to the sorrowful convic-

mercial relations,—that Africa must become the school of her own education,—and that her own children must be employed as the agents in promoting her civilization. Thus he confesses to some of the leading principles of our Society.

If Mr. Buxton is wholly opposed to the colonization principle, why did his American Anti Slavery Editors and publishers leave out the whole of the Second Part of his work, containing the very purpose of the work—which is, to show that the only way to suppress the slave trade, is by purchasing territory in Africa, planting colonies and establishing commerce with the native tribes, and thus bring them to see how much more valuable *man* is as a laborer on the soil than as an article of merchandise?

But let us look a little further for Mr. Buxton's real sentiment about colonization. The plan to which his book has given rise in England, is as follows. It consists of three parts. The first is purely missionary, and aims to establish schools and religious institutions, &c.

The second department is an agricultural and commercial company, for opening plantations and establishing trade on the coast and in the interior—to induce the natives to abandon the traffic in slaves, &c.

The third part of this plan, to be executed by government, proposes the purchasing and settling tracts of country suited for agricultural and commercial purposes. But as Mr. B. considers it a “hopeless task to render Africa a salubrious residence for European constitutions,” the agents for executing this part of the plan are to be, in part at least, colored persons. Accordingly a large number of pious negroes in the West Indies, are now receiving an education preparatory for this service. These free persons of color are to be removed, (with their own consent, I suppose) to Africa, i. e. colonized. The Society for carrying into effect this whole plan with the aid of government—is called “The Society for the extinction of the slave trade and for the civilization of Africa, instituted, June 1839.” Mr. Buxton is the chairman of its provisional committee.—Does this look like opposition to the colonization scheme? Are not these British philanthropists aiming at the same ends, with ourselves and by similar means?—only superadding to other motives, that of securing the whole commerce of Africa to their own government?

tion, that the year from September, 1837, to September, 1838, is distinguished from all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes of human life."

"It will avail little that ninety nine doors are closed, if one remains open. *To that single outlet the whole slave trade of Africa will rush.*"

Another plan for suppressing the slave trade, is, to bring all nations to declare it piracy and punish all participators in it accordingly. This is the plan on which all christian governments have been acting for the last quarter of a century. But will this plan succeed? I refer you again to Mr. Buxton. He has probably bestowed more time and thought upon the subject of the slave trade, than any other man now living, and has lately published to the world his *discoveries and the remedy*. He endorses, unintentionally, all the essential principles and plans of the American Colonization Society—He says that "colored men must be the agents employed in civilizing Africa," that christian and commercial colonies, planted along and around her coast, are the only means of suppressing the slave trade.—He says "our present system has not failed by mischance, from want of energy, or from want of expenditure; *but the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily be attended with disappointment.* We will suppose all nations shall have acceded to the Spanish treaty, and that treaty shall have been rendered more effective; that they shall have linked to it the article of piracy; that the whole shall have been clenched by the cordial concurrence of the authorities at home, and of the populace in the colored colonies: with all this, we shall be once more defeated and baffled by a contraband trade. The power which will overcome our efforts, *is the extraordinary profits of the slave trader.* But we shall *never* get the consent of the powers to the Spanish treaty. This confederacy must be *universally* binding, or it is of no avail."

He declares it his opinion, that this trade is carried on more extensively than it was before the spanish treaty; and that the hearty union of all christian nations, in good faith, would be unavailable to suppress it. He maintains his positions by the following argument. He assumes the axiom of the custom house, viz. that no trade can be suppressed by authority, when the profits of that trade exceed thirty per cent. He shows that the profits of the slave trade are more

than *five times* that amount, after deducting all the risks, losses and forfeitures occasioned by the action of law against it. Consequently, the risks will be encountered, and the market supplied; and the means adopted for the evasion of law, and of public vessels engaged for the suppression of the trade, lead to the most astounding inhumanities and sacrifice of human life. The profits are abundant, if the lives of *one half* of the victims crammed on board these vessels are saved! * Under such circumstances the trade will go on, in spite of all the means hitherto used to suppress it.

But this trade is to be abolished, and Africa is again to come under the dominion of Jesus Christ; and I firmly believe that the PRINCIPLE OF COLONIZATION is to be a main instrumentality in accomplishing these ends;—that God intends to enlighten her dark tribes, by settling her own civilized and christianized children all around her coast. I am therefore a warm friend of the American Colonization Society. I regard it with substantially the same feelings that I do the American Board. I would not dare to oppose its doings, lest I should be found fighting against God. Whether I look at its *principles*, or at the *results* it has already achieved, I cannot resist the conviction that it is to be a powerful means of elevating the colored race.

First, look at its principles. I am constrained to believe that it was founded in wisdom, justice and humanity. It was not, in its inception, a project of slave holders, to render the system of slavery more secure. The plan was proposed and advocated, (long before Mr. Jefferson brought it forward) by Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce and a free colored man of this country. † That southern men have patronized our Society from wrong motives, I have no doubt. No doubt it has been advocated by agents at the north, as promising to do, what it was never designed to do. No doubt its concerns have been, in some instances, unskilfully managed. These things are to be regretted. But has the Society proposed a good work? And is it doing the work proposed?

* The reader who has not access to Mr. Buxton's book, will find a more extended view of this argument, in a pamphlet, entitled, 'Colonization and Abolition contrasted,' published by H. Hooker, Philadelphia, from which the above outline is quoted.

† The following is the testimony of Dr. Hodgkin, of London, a leading anti-slavery gentleman, who has the candor to appreciate the motives and labors of our Society. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D. is a member of the Society of Friends. He is one of the executive committee of Mr. Buxton's Af-

If so, it must command your approbation and patronage. We see from the second article of its constitution, that 'the object to which its attention is to be primarily directed, is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color in our country, in Africa or such other place as Congress may deem expedient.' The ultimate benevolent ends, the Society aims to accomplish are the following. I quote from its publications.

1. The society aims to rescue the free colored people of the United States from their political and social disadvantages and place them in a country where they can enjoy the blessings of a free government and feel the force of those great moral motives which form the characters of other men.

2. To arrest and destroy the slave trade.

3. To spread civilization and christianity throughout the continent of Africa and

4. To afford slave holders, who are willing to liberate their slaves, an assylum for their reception.

rican civilization Society. He has been holding a particular correspondence with our colonists in Liberia and with naval officers, who have spent much time there. The result of the whole, is, that he sits down and writes a long letter addressed "to the American Delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, in the 6th month 1840." And what, gentle reader, does he say to the American Delegates? Does he say, go on and oppose the Am. Col. Society? No. On the contrary he says, Gentleman, I appreciate your zeal as abolitionists, but you are all wrong in your opposition to colonization. You shall have his own words.

To the American Delegates to the Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London 6th month, 1840.

RESPECTED FRIENDS,

The idea of colonizing individuals either wholly or partially of African origin, upon the coast of Africa, is not an idea originating with those whom you regard as your opponents, but was proposed and advocated, before the Colonization Society existed, by Granville Sharp, Clarkson, several members of the Society of Friends, by Paul Cuffee himself, a free American black, and many others. Some reasons, it is true, have been adduced in favor of the plan, with which I do not concur, more especially, that which seems to withhold from the colored man the right to remain and enjoy every privilege accessible to man in America: but I regard this colonization of American colored people as recommendable on every principle which makes it desirable for Europeans to emigrate to America, South Africa, or New Zealand, namely, the prospect of bettering their condition, and turning to present and future advantage, all the resources which they may happen to possess. These reasons must apply with peculiar force to the colored man in America, until you shall have removed legal barriers, and annihilated the prejudice against color.

Why have the American Delegates said nothing about Dr. Hodgkin's letter and accompanying documents respecting Liberia? See Dr. H.'s letter at length in the Vermont Chronicle, Oct. 14, 1840.

All these ends are good and benevolent. The only question is, Is the scheme of colonization adapted to attain them?

That the colored people of this country do labor under great political and social disadvantages, here, is admitted by all. Let prejudice be dispelled and let our laws become as favorable as any could wish, opening to the colored man all the avenues of honor and hope, the disadvantages will still be felt. We should still prefer a white man for the legislature, for congress, for the pulpit, the bench, the school room and for our physician. I would do all that can be done to elevate the colored man in this country, but after all, these disadvantages will remain. The whites will monopolize the highest places.—Now, our Society aims to free our colored people from these disadvantages, and place them where they shall be exempt from this depressing rivalship;—where all the honors which white men take from them here, shall be secured to them and denied to the white man. This is precisely the plan of our colony. By its laws, white men are forbidden to reside in it except for temporary and specific purposes. Honors, titles, profits of trade, which, in a mixed community, have always been monopolized by the whites, are in Liberia, secured to the colored people. They are there placed fully under those rousing and awakening influences which are necessary to form a character for enterprize and independence.

But secondly, Do the operations of our Society tend to destroy the slave trade? This trade has confessedly been destroyed on 300 miles of the western coast. From this coast formerly more than two thousand slaves were annually shipped; now not one. The last factory on this coast has been destroyed. Our Society is doing, the very things which Mr. Buxton proposes as the only remedy for this evil. Dr. Hodgkin, one of Mr. Buxton's philanthropic associates, and a leading anti-slavery man, bears the following testimony respecting the influence of our Society, both in *elevating the colored race and in suppressing the slave trade*. In his letter 'to the American Delegates' to the World's Convention, he says. "I see the Society, (the Am. Col. Society) which you have proclaimed to be dead or dying, but which, at other times, you represent as a terrible monster struggling but not discouraged, gaining advocates, receiving subscriptions, and in spite of the financial difficulties of the country, extricating

itself from debt, and carrying on its great work with steadily advancing prosperity. I see in its interesting publications the abundant records of facts and sentiments calculated to raise the colored man to the estimation of himself and of his fellow-men, passages, which it would benefit your cause to quote and circulate. Turning my eyes to Liberia, I find the accounts of slave factories broken up, of missions settled, of schools established, of native children received for instruction, of peace mediated between contending tribes. I hear from British naval officers and merchant captains, that the people and government of Liberia are opposed to the slave trade, and offer an important check to its operations. With such accumulated evidence in favor of the colony, I cannot doubt its advantages, nor cease to wish it well."

To our own colony and its influence in suppressing this traffic, Dr. Hodgkin pays the following handsome tribute. "Even at Sierra Leone, a much older and powerful settlement than those of Liberia,—in spite of a larger white population and of a British garrison and numerous cruisers, occurrences of the kind (i. e. forging fetters and abetting the slave trade) it is to be feared, *are more frequent than on the coast of Liberia.*"* Let then the nations of christendom encircle Africa with a belt of such colonies, and this horrid traffic will cease forever.

That colonization is to be an important means for christianizing the hundred millions of Ethiopia, cannot be doubted by any who note attentively God's providential movements.

And finally, our Society furnishes to slave holders who are willing to liberate their slaves, an assylum for their reception. Moreover it holds up perpetually before the mind of the slave holder, a republic of free, enterprising colored men, and thus shows him that he is not enslaving an inferior and soul-less creature as the one supposed, but an immortal being like himself, possessing the same attributes susceptible of the same intellectual and moral elevation. In this way as well as by the facts and light it spreads abroad—our Society is indirectly promoting the cause of universal emancipation.†

* See Dr. Hodgkin's letter, in Vt. Chronicle of Oct. 14, 1840.

† I do not suppose that the Col. Society alone will ever remove slavery from this land. I never did suppose this. I do not advocate the Society on this ground. Therefore a remark on p. 28 of my Discourse before the Vt. Col. Society in 1832, has been misunderstood by many of my abolition friends. I spoke of what our government might do.

Such are the principles and aims and tendencies of the Society whose cause we plead to night. I believe our Society destined to become a mighty instrument in the hand of God for elevating the colored race,—for destroying the accursed traffic in human flesh and blood and for diffusing that gospel which shall cause Ethiopia to awake from her miseries and stretch out her hands to God. Do any of you still doubt? Go with me and take your stand upon the rocky cliff of cape Mesurado, and tell me what do you see? You see a republic of free and happy men, extending their jurisdiction over a country nearly as large as our own state.—You see the foundations of a vast empire. There are four colonies and twelve flourishing settlements. There, where eighteen years ago was heard the savage yell and the sound of the slaver's hammer rivetting the chains upon his victim, you now hear the song of praise to God, and the cheerful sounds of voluntary industry.—There are christian civilization and a government of law, churches and schools and all the marks of a thriving state. Already has the fair scene before you began to be the radiating point of science, civilization and christianity to Africa. What you behold is no empty vision. It is reality. Can any man, in whom humanity is not extinct, oppose the society that has, under God, produced this reality or seek to impede its progress? Will he, who has never lighted up one fire along the savage cliffs of Ethiopia,—will he try to extinguish the heaven born flames which have been kindled by the benevolence of others and which every hour are burning brighter and brighter, and attracting the eye of thousands who never saw light before? God forbid that any should be so lost to humanity and shame. My friends, The American Colonization Society is entitled to your strongest confidence, your personal influence, your fervent prayers and your liberal contributions. God has approved and protected it. For years it has been in the flames, but like the burning bush it has not been consumed. Nor shall it be. God will protect it and to him shall be the glory of its achievements.

AMEN.



